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contacts, frictions, clashes

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Administration

Université de Strasbourg
5 allée du Général Rouvillois – CS 50008
FR-67083 Strasbourg Cedex
Tél. : 00 33 (0) 3 68 85 62 65
pu-strasbourg@unistra.fr

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“Breaking the pentameter”: speech rhythms, stress clash, and authenticity in modern English-language poetry

ANDREW EASTMAN ♦

“To break the pentameter, that was the first heave” wrote Ezra Pound in Canto 81 (Pound *Cantos* 532), arguing retrospectively that the modern poem owes its authenticity to discordance – a discordance which his line “enacts” through the consecutive stresses of its last two words, “first heave.” Rejecting, in similar fashion, the alternating movement which underlies metrical verse in general and iambic pentameter in particular, Gerard Manley Hopkins explained his new metrical system, “sprung rhythm”, to Robert Bridges by writing: “for why, if it is forcible in prose to say ‘lášed ród’, am I obliged to weaken this in verse, which ought to be stronger, not weaker, into ‘lášed birch-ród’ or something” (letter of August 21, 1877; Hopkins, *Poems*, 249). Hopkins claimed in the same passage that “sprung rhythm” – a mode of writing which allows and even seems to multiply juxtaposed stresses – was characterized at once by “markedness of rhythm” and “naturalness of expression”; these “incompatible excellences” guaranteed its authenticity, making it “the native and natural rhythm of speech” (*ibid.*).

How comes it that the authentic, in modern English-language poetry, is identified with the discordant? Hopkins’s “lášed ród” is an example of what contemporary linguists call “stress clash,” and which, they argue, English speakers normally and naturally avoid. Juxtaposed stresses, however, are found throughout the history of English poetry, in Shakespeare and Donne, Milton and Browning – but in contexts where an underlying metrical pattern, alternating beat and offbeat, provides for neutralizing them, and in which they may be seen as variations against a metrical norm, or as expressive effects, as when Pope writes “The hoarse, rough verse should like the torrent roar” (*Essay on Criticism* 369; Pope 29). The gradual adoption of free verse in early twentieth-century poetry opens up the poetic line to practices of

♦ Andrew Eastman, *SEARCH*, Université de Strasbourg.

“stress clash”: here, as Charles O. Hartman shows, the line as visual unit “increas[es] the density of accents” (Hartman 56). Thus Pound’s “The Seafarer” (1911), a version of an Anglo-Saxon poem, opens with the words: “May I for my own self song’s truth reckon” (Pound, *Poems* 236): if the stress-pattern of “reckon,” which makes the line’s tenth syllable weak, is what most clearly “breaks” the pentameter here, alliteration, inversion, the relative uncertainty of syntactic relations and the semantic indeterminacy of the construction “song’s truth” make it difficult to clearly or univocally subordinate constituents to each other, with the result that “self,” “song’s” and “truth” appear to be equally prominent, undermining the alternating metrical framework of this ten-syllable line from inside.

Early twentieth-century discussions of rhythm, however, continue to identify it with the alternation of stress and nonstress, with meter and measured movement – in accordance with the historically dominant theory of rhythm, first fixed, as Emile Benveniste showed, by Plato (333–335). Thus while Hopkins also justified sprung rhythm by arguing that it was “the nearest to the rhythm of prose” (*ibid.*), a study of English prose rhythm by P. Fijn van Draat (1910) noted: “The first and essential condition for the securing of rhythmical movement is the avoidance of two strest syllables in immediate succession” (9). In van Draat’s account, rhythm in language is part of a universal physiological phenomenon: “Just as in breathing exhalation is followed by inhalation, so in speaking the strong stress is naturally followed by a weak stress. It is only with an effort that we can produce two successive stresses, just as it is only with difficulty that we can exhale twice without any intervening intake of breath, or in walking, advance our right foot twice without an intervening movement of the left foot” (*ibid.*). Consecutive stresses then may occur only as isolated, rhetorical effect: “Two successive stresses make for great emphasis, and unless this is the effect aimed at, the clash of two stresses is avoided even unconsciously in the language of ordinary life” (*ibid.*). In some writings of Pound and Hopkins, however, juxtaposed stresses are not the exception but the rule. What then is at stake in the practice of “stress clash” in Hopkins and early twentieth-century poets is a new conception of rhythm, which sees it not as universal phenomenon but as individuated speech.

Conceptions of stress clash

What, or when, is “stress clash”? This term is generally invoked to account for phenomena of shifting stress which take place within a phonological phrase; thus English native speakers pronounce “thirtéen” but “thirteen mén,” and the displacement of the stress is explained by the avoidance of consecutive stresses. The linguist Dwight Bolinger shows that a host of English constructions – such as the preference for “drunken sailor” over “drunk sailor,” or “mad and senseless slaughter” rather than “senseless and mad slaughter” – may be explained by the tendency to

avoid consecutive stresses (*Forms*, 146, 133). Even where stresses are juxtaposed, linguists argue, the basic alternating pattern characteristic of English reasserts itself. Bernard Tardy notes that the tendency to deaccent the verb in Subject-Verb-Object constructions "generates an effect of accentual alternance" (75); Liberman and Prince argue that in the sequence "John's three red shirts," "three" may be more strongly stressed than "red," thus creating an alternating movement of stronger and weaker syllables (cited, Attridge 71). The most widely accepted phonological theory, metrical phonology, much preoccupied with questions of stress clash and stress shift, analyzes the stresses in an utterance as a hierarchy of prominences; at any one level of the hierarchy, only one element is marked "strong," all others are marked "weak": no "stress clash" can occur. This theory depends on the principle of "strict layering," which claims that all the units of an utterance are unambiguously grouped in larger units, with no overlapping (Cureton 51) – but this is far from being the case in modern poems, and one may wonder whether it is the case in everyday speech.

Recent theories of poetic rhythm likewise reduce or erase "stress clash." Thus the *New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics* argues that the spondee (in traditional metrics, a foot composed of two accented syllables) does not exist: "the normal processes of stress alternation and reduction operate so systematically in English that in compound words or in phrases of any length, spondees are difficult at best" (article "spondee," 1207). Derek Attridge, the author of the most widely accepted recent accounts of rhythm in English verse, likewise bases his analysis on the "natural" alternating movement of English, seen as the basis of well-formedness and aesthetic pleasure. In his analyses of metrical verse, Attridge introduces protocols whereby consecutive stresses may be reduced to alternating movements of metrical beats and offbeats. Notably, the analysis claims that when successive stressed syllables correspond to metrical beats, they are separated by an "implied offbeat," which may be realized by a slight pause: "stress clash" is thus dissolved into regularity. In "Of man's first disobedience, and the fruit," an "implied offbeat" falls between the stressed syllables "man's" and "first"; in "Full fathom five my father lies," the process of "demotion" operates to reduce the line's initial stressed syllable to an "offbeat" (Attridge 169, 174). Without questioning the subtlety and cogency of Attridge's *metrical* analysis, one is obliged to note that the "implied offbeat" is a fiction, which restores a regular pattern to the actual movement of speech.

Authenticity, then, in these accounts of rhythm, is derived from "nature." For van Draat, as noted, authentic English prose rhythm is based in physiology. The ideal of English prose rhythm is then found, not in English prose writers like Carlyle, but in the speech of the common man, who never goes wrong – or in the King James Bible (1910 5, 8; 1912 510-511). More recent accounts explain alternance as a matter of "euphony" (Tardy 66; my translation) or "eurhythmic structures," concepts which suppose a cosmic order as norm; Philip Carr proposes that sequences in which "strong and weak syllables alternate" seem "to make the speech signal more easily

decoded" (ibid.), an explanation which, problematically, reduces linguistic activity to communication. In similar fashion, Derek Attridge notes: "English speakers instinctively avoid sequences of two stresses when alternative pronunciations or phrasings are possible," grounding the rhythms of English speech in the biological notion of instinct. "Nature" here is really a particular conception of rhythm which passes for universal; as Gérard Dessons and Henri Meschonnic have argued, rhythm as the binary opposition of strong and weak units is simply a corollary of the binary opposition between sound and sense which underlies our most pervasive conception of language, the theory of the sign (32ff.).

Discordance as rhetoric

In this context, it appears significant that Hopkins and early twentieth-century poets writing free verse make consecutive stresses a characteristic rhythmic mark of their poetry.

But one may question whether "discordance" is the most appropriate way of accounting for what they are doing; and whether the concept of "stress clash" will allow us to understand poetry aimed at "increasing the density of accents". Clearly, consecutive stresses, perceived as marked in a metrical context, may also be used for expressive effect – this is what we seem to hear in Pound's "first heave" or Hopkins's "lashed ród," where consecutive stresses are used in conjunction with an evocation of physical effort or violent motion; in the same way, Pound's "Sestina: Altaforte," spoken by the war-loving troubadour Bertrand de Born, makes use of consecutive stresses to evoke the stress of battle: "I have no life save when the swords clash" (Pound 2003, 106). The first cited uses of "clash" in the *Oxford English Dictionary* refer to rude sound, "[t]he loud sound of collision made by a heavy strike or blow," to cacophony. A clash is a *dis*-cordance: in another sense of the word, "a clashing or discordancy of color" (ibid.). The concept of juxtaposed stresses as "clash" functions perfectly within the traditional theory of rhythm as alternating movement: just as rhythm is conceived to be the binary succession of stress and non-stress, stress clash is the variation which relieves the monotony of repetition; as deviation from the norm, expressive device, it can only emphasize a pre-existing meaning, or mimic it. Such an approach makes rhythm a rhetoric, a store of effects to be applied to language. Yet what is at stake in the study of poetic rhythm is how it participates in the transformation of discourse practices, in the subjectivation of language. In modernist poets' rhythmic practices, the subject of the poem is made present in writing, and called forth in reading, by the ubiquity of accent.

As noted, the notion of stress clash refers implicitly to *sound*; for many linguists, the problem is purely one of phonology and syntax. But rhythm and intonation are not simply physiological or phonological processes: they are, of course, an activity of

meaning, an essential aspect of the enunciation of subjectivity. Semantic prominence is also a factor in determining when stress shift occurs or does not occur, whether stresses can be subordinated or reduced. Discussing stress shift, Dwight Bolinger notes: "A highly colorful word will keep an accent on the primary even if the result is juxtaposed accents – or actually in order to *create* a juxtaposition with its jarring effect. So whereas *éxtreme únction* is a possibility of a colorless technical term, there is no moving the accent in *extrême súffering*" (Bolinger 1985, 70). Bolinger's approach brings discourse meaning into play, and so contrasts with accounts like Philip Carr's, which focus uniquely on phonological structure. Two points are suggested here: stress clash in discourse is not fundamentally a question of lexical stress but of intonation or pitch accent, thus of discourse meaning; and a "clash" results when deaccenting, or the subordination of accents, is prevented by the context-dependent semantic value of the units juxtaposed. Viewed another way, then, while "stress shift" and stress alternation are characteristic of collocations and stereotyped phrases belonging to the *language*, juxtaposed stresses are more properly a creation of *discourse*, resulting from contexts where morphemes are combined in unpredictable ways – as for example in metaphor; or simply in contexts where they are given specific value or importance by speakers – as might happen, Bolinger notes, in an utterance like "come on in" (*Forms*, 179). From the point of view of discourse, "stress clash" is ordinary.¹

¹ Philip Carr describes stress clash and stress shift or "rhythm reversal" as phenomena occurring in certain sequences of feet, the foot being a phonological unit composed of a stressed syllable and any following unstressed syllables (Carr 100-111). More generally, however, what is at stake with stress clash is deaccenting, or the subordination of accents in sentence constituents. In English, this seems to depend on syntax; linguists have proposed a "Sentence Accent Assignment Rule" which deaccents the verb when followed by a direct object; Tardy links this to "accentual alternation" (Tardy 75; my translation). But more than syntax is involved: "deaccenting certain words" notes Dwight Bolinger, "is the way we show that they are taken for granted" (1985, 63). In the same spirit, Bolinger gives a suggestive account of how the need to separate accents, in order to leave room for the fall or rise in pitch which most often marks them, impacts the morphology and syntax of English; but he also shows that certain discourse contexts call for "cumulative accents" falling on successive syllables (Bolinger, 1985, 53-55, 84). In a famous article, "Accent is Predictable (If You're a Mind-Reader)" (1972), Bolinger criticized approaches to accent based on syntax rather than on the organization of meaning in discourse. He argued: "The error of attributing to syntax what belongs to semantics comes from concentrating on the commonplace," noting for example that "[l]ess predictable verbs are less likely to be de-accented – where one has *léssons to learn*, one will probably have *pássages to mémorize*" (634). It follows that the Nuclear Stress Rule proposed by Chomsky and Halle "is an attempt to overlay onto word stresses, and describe in stress terms, what is really a performative realized in the intonation" (643). The root of the problem is a confusion of levels: "[s]tress belongs to the lexicon. Accent belongs to the utterance" (644). In what follows I will use "accent" rather than "stress" to refer to the prominence of syllables, and thus words and meanings, in the flow of speech; this prominence or accent may be produced by various "cues," pitch movement, length, loudness, though pitch appears to be most "efficient" (1985, 22). Bolinger reserves "stress" for the position in words where accent falls.

Rhythm as “markedness”

I will try to argue here that literariness, and thus authenticity in some late nineteenth and early twentieth-century poetry depends on a new conception of rhythm as “markedness” – to borrow Hopkins’s expression² – rather than measure. The concept of “stress clash” is inseparable from the process of deaccenting, which takes place where one element can be seen as subordinate to another. Some late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century poets writing in English appear to go out of their way to build semantic value into words to such an extent that deaccenting, or stress subordination is blocked. By the same token, the notion of “clash” is inadequate to account for them: in such contexts, consecutive accents no longer function as deviations from a norm. More remarkably, we find poets inventing ways to juxtapose accents, to create “accentual clashes,” where they would not ordinarily occur in connected speech.

As an example of a context where juxtaposed accents are no longer variations on a norm, I return to the beginning of Ezra Pound’s “The Seafarer,” a translation from an Anglo-Saxon poem; here are the opening lines:

May I for my own self song’s truth reckon,
 Journey’s jargon, how I in harsh days
 Hardship endured oft.
 Bitter breast-cares have I abided,
 5 Known on my keel many a care’s hold,
 And dire sea-surge, and there I oft spent
 Narrow nightwatch nigh the ship’s head
 While she tossed close to cliffs. Coldly afflicted,
 My feet were by frost benumbed.
 10 Chill its chains are; chafing sighs
 Hew my heart round and hunger begot
 Mere-weary mood. Lest man know not
 That he on dry land loveliest liveth,
 List how I, care-wretched, on ice-cold sea,
 15 Weathered the winter, wretched outcast
 Deprived of my kinsmen; [...] (Pound 2003, 236)

Pound’s poem abounds in consecutive accents, which are made more salient by alliteration and the prominence it entails: in lines 2 and 3, “harsh days/ Hardship,” in line 3, “endured oft,” in line 4 “breast-cares,” in line 5 “keel many” and “care’s hold,” etc.; and these consecutive accents are not regularized by or within the

² In the same letter to Robert Bridges, Hopkins writes: “markedness of rhythm – that is rhythm’s self” (1963, 249).

alternating movement of pentameter. Pound's poem is a translation, and seeks, clearly, to reproduce in modern English certain qualities of Old English poetry. But *as* a translation, it *is* modern English – an imagined English, working with the possibilities of English. Clearly, the juxtaposed accents serve an expressive function, evoking the harsh existence of the seafarer; they define a masculine ethos, correspond to and recreate for us our stereotype of the rugged Anglo-Saxon. For my purposes, the interest of Pound's poem lies elsewhere: in the way words are combined in unexpected ways, making them unsusceptible to deaccenting: "sea-surge," in line 6, is a lexicalized compound, with the accent falling on the initial syllable, in "breast-cares" (line 4), "Mere-weary" (line 12) or "care-wretched" (line 14) both elements take an accent, because the relations between the associated lexemes are novel and indeterminate. "Mere-weary", for example, because the first word is rare or obsolete, and furthermore because "mere" and "weary" rhyme, seems impossible to read like a single-stressed compound³. Given that these expressions are organized by rhyme and phonemic echo, by a form of continuity, "clash" represents an unsubtle approach to them.

We see then that one of the ways that poems build prominence into their words, and counter the "normal processes of stress alternation and reduction" is through phonemic echo, which Fitzroy Pyle calls "alliterative prominence" (Pyle 54). Gerard Manley Hopkins is known for his forging of compounds: "dapple-dawn-drawn Falcon" in "The Windhover" contains two compounds embedded in each other, "dapple-dawn" and "dapple-dawn-drawn." In revising the manuscript of this poem as copied by his friend Robert Bridges, Hopkins placed a stress mark on "dawn" (Hopkins 1991, 123), suggesting that the following word, "drawn" should be subordinated, as in a construction like "horse-drawn." Yet the internal rhyme between "dawn" and "drawn" renders subordination impossible: both words require equal prominence, and their association through rhyme points to the unfamiliar sort of force suggested by the expression: however a dawn draws, it does not do so in the same way as a horse.

As we see from this example, Hopkins resorted to marks on the page to indicate where accents were to fall. He uses such marks, likewise, to create juxtaposed accents, where, according to the linguistic rhythm, they would not appear. Thus the manuscript of "Harry Ploughman," sent to Robert Bridges in a letter of November 6, 1887, contains the following symbols: "(1) ^ strong stress; which does not differ much from/ (2) ∪ pause or dwell on a syllable, which need not however have the metrical stress;/ (3) ' the metrical stress, marked in doubtful cases only" (Hopkins 1995, 262-263; 1991, 311). Here are the first three lines of "Harry Ploughman" as it appears in the manuscript (the indented lines are "burden-lines" and so do not "count" in this sonnet's line-numbering) with some of Hopkins's markings:

³ Compounds may be single- or double-stressed; "ice-cold" (l.14) is an example of a double-stressed compound.

Hard as hurdle arms, with a broth of goldish flue
 Breathed round; the rack of ribs; the scooped flank;
 lank
 Rope-over thigh; knee-bank⁴ and barrelled shank—
 Héad and fóot, shóuldér and shánk— (1991, 310)

Central to the poem is a sense of bodiliness – the tactile sense we get from looking at a body at work; and accent is here central to the poem’s sense of body. Consecutive accents abound, notably where compounding is the means of creating metaphor (“rope-over”; “knee-bank”). In the second “burden-line” (beginning “Head and foot”), Hopkins places a “metrical stress,” according to his terminology, on the final syllable of “shoulder” – thus accenting a syllable which, dictionaries tell us, cannot be. Yet his notation makes clear that the initial syllable of “shoulder,” which receives a “strong stress,” is not to be subordinated or “demoted” for the sake of the meter. The successive accents, and above all the accent on “-der” suggest the tension of effort, bring movement into an enumeration of body “parts”; the continuity of accent is here one way (along with many others) of writing continuity into the poem’s words, and thus evoking the animating force or “instress,” what this poem calls “Churlsgace” (line 12).

The use of visual means to create juxtaposed stresses where they would not otherwise occur can likewise be seen in poem XXII of William Carlos Williams’s sequence *Spring and All* (1923), also published under the title “The Red Wheelbarrow.” Two important words in Williams’s poem, “wheelbarrow” and “rainwater” are compound nouns; in compounds of this type, the stress of the second lexical item is demoted, in such a way as to distinguish “a black bird” from “a blackbird.” Williams divides the two elements of his compounds by a line break, thus leading us to stress both:⁵

so much depends
 upon
 a red wheel
 barrow
 glazed with rain
 water
 beside the white
 chickens (Williams 224)

⁴ Later corrected to “knee-nave,” likewise a metaphor through double-stressed compounding (1991, 310; 1963, 64).

⁵ Here I follow Charles O. Hartman’s argument that the line, in free verse, is a way of “increasing the density of accents” (Hartmann 56). Hartman proposes that the integrity of the line unit calls for a reader to pause at the end of it (182); producing this line-end pause involves placing an accent at the end of a line, while “the energy required to start again each new line tends to throw unwonted stress on one of its first words” (ibid.).

The visual salience of the scene described is underlined by the auditory salience of the poem's words; the elements of the compounds, "wheel," "barrow," "rain," "water" may then be read for their own elementary significance: "wheel," "rain," "water" correspond to essentials of human existence, while a "barrow" designates, in other contexts, a mound of earth or a grave. Here juxtaposed stresses cannot be said to have any mimetic effect, in the sense that no effort or stress is described; they function rather as the mark of the speaker's relation to a "co-utterer" (an addressee), so that the poem becomes an enactment of making the world meaningful.

The poems of E.E. Cummings are notorious for letter-play and visual effects; but graphic invention in Cummings is, of course, also an invention of voicing. The idiosyncratic lettering and punctuation of Cummings's poems invite readers to place accents where they might not otherwise be found in connected speech; the poems call for an excess of accent. Several poems from the book *No Thanks* (1933) may serve as indication. The first line of poem 1, "mOOOn Over tOWns mOOOn" uses capital letters mimetically, but the capital "O" in "Over" also makes it difficult to subordinate the accent on the preposition, thus making consecutive accents possible (Cummings, 383). Elsewhere, Cummings uses line and blank space to place accents on normally unaccented words. At the end of poem 10 in *No Thanks*, a blank space separating the verb "enter" and the enclitic pronoun "us" enforces an accent on "us":

big rain
big snow
big sun
big moon
(enter
us) (Cummings, 393)

That is, I would argue, we read, not "é-ter us," but "é-ter ús": reading "us" as enclitic requires it to be pronounced in a continuous emission of voice with "enter," but here the space marks a disjunction; and, to follow Charles O. Hartman's argument, the energy required to begin a new line with isolated "us" "tends to throw unwonted stress" on it. The double accent ("é-ter ús") suggests that the relation between subject, verb, and object cannot be taken for granted (what does "entering" mean here, and how is it to be achieved?); while the accent on isolated "us" suggests, with an ecstatic climax, the achievement of what the imperative requests. In a passage from poem 51, "at dusk," Cummings uses punctuation to enforce accent:

one Clock dimly cries
nine,i stride among the vines
(my heart pursues
against the little moon

be so purred, so purred how.

It was a ham it was a square come well it was a square remain, a
square remain not it a bundle, not it a bundle so is a grip, a grip to
shed bay leave bay leave draught, bay leave draw cider in low, cider in
low and george. George is a mass. (Stein 1914, 56)

Sequences like "a só óld sáy to be," "áre béen," or "bay leave" call for juxtaposed accents through their partial or total syntactic indeterminacy. Similarly, in "he heat eating he heat it eating," successive accents are determined by the elision of the tense marker which would otherwise identify "heat" as verb, marking its syntactic relation to pronominal "he" and "it" – as well as by the density of assonance and alliteration; the accenting makes it possible to read the sequence "he heat it" as a predication assimilating personhood to body heat while at the same time equating the body with an unnameable "it." A specific sense of the body and its relation to personhood is inseparable from the way the reader is invited to perform the poem through the vocal gesture of consecutive and cumulative accent.

What "breaks the pentameter," I would like to argue, is not so much the arrival of free verse, non-metrical verse, but the search for "markedness," as seen in Hopkins, itself arising out of a sense that it is the speaker, not the language, which makes rhythm, that rhythm in language is not a universal form but a situation-dependent enunciation: in modern English-language poetry juxtaposed stresses are the result of new ways of saying, whether they involve as yet unheard collocations, like Pound's "mere-weary," or the visual disposition of words on the page. But such juxtaposed stresses, as I have tried to show, are no longer what is called "stress clash," because they are something more than an expressive device, a deviation from the alternating norm which confirms the norm while miming meaning; they are invention of rhythm and invention of meaning inseparably. Underlying these practices, it seems, is a sense that language is not continuous with nature, that rhythm is not a purely physiological process. Authenticity derives then from language that is freighted with history, in other words, freighted with individuated meaning; for Pound, "Great literature is simply language charged with meaning to the utmost degree" (*ABC*, 28) and charging with meaning means charging with rhythm, with "accent." Something of this charging language with history is suggested by Gertrude Stein, when she writes, in "Portraits and Repetition":

every time one of the hundreds of times a newspaper man makes fun of
my writing and of my repetition he always has the same theme, always
having the same theme, that is, if you like, repetition, that is if you
like the repeating that is the same thing, but once started expressing
this thing, expressing any thing there can be no repetition because
the essence of that expression is insistence, and if you insist you must

each time use emphasis and if you use emphasis it is not possible while anybody is alive that they should use exactly the same emphasis [...] That is what makes life that the insistence is different, no matter how often you tell the same story if there is anything alive in the telling the emphasis is different (Stein 1998, 288)

It seems to me that what Stein means by life here is not biological process but history and human activity as history, and that in her view, life, rhythm, and history are all bound up together.

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Sommaire / Contents

<i>Avant-propos</i>	
Anne Bandry-Scubbi	5

Frictions in the Visual

<i>Surrealism in Britain: from the subversion of the déjà vu to the impossible authentic</i>	
Michel Remy	13
<i>Frottements d'images: les films tardifs de Paul Sharits</i>	
Livio Belloï	23
<i>Bill Viola's "The Passions" and Aby Warburg's "Survival" theory: Post-modernism, empathy and déjà vu</i>	
Magdalena Nowak	31
<i>From déjà vu to déjà peint: Rewriting, re-imaging devolutionary and post-devolutionary Scotland</i>	
Camille Manfredi	47
<i>Déjà vu in British nineteenth-century travel book illustrations on Egypt: continuity and change</i>	
Caroline Lehn	59

Authenticity?

<i>Normalcy, discrepancy, and alternatives: some representations of the American woman from the postwar years to the sixties</i>	
Elodie Chazalon	77
<i>Amerikang byutiPhilippine Mimicry and "American Mana"</i>	
Jean-Noël Sanchez	89
<i>Le mouvement d'Oxford: entre continuité et réforme</i>	
Frédéric Libaud	101
<i>William the Conqueror, Henry III, Richard II et al., or English history recycled by seventeenth-century republican newsbooks</i>	
Laurent Currelly	115
<i>Dissonance, distortion and détournement: reinterpreting "The Star-Spangled Banner"</i>	
Elsa Grassy	129
<i>"Déjà vu / déjà entendu"? Handel's opere serie on the London Stage</i>	
Pierre Degott	147
<i>"Breaking the pentameter": speech rhythms, "stress clash," and authenticity in modern english-language poetry</i>	
Andrew Eastman	159

Textual encounters by dissonance

<i>“The musical confusion of hounds and echoes in conjunction”: Intertextual friction in Elizabethan rewritings of the myth of Actæon</i>	
Rémi Vuillemin	175
<i>P. B. Shelley’s Mercury vs. Aeschylus’s Hermes: A transtextual clash of the Titans</i>	
Fabien Desset	189
<i>Struggling to resist prior interpellation: the nursery rhyme characters in Lewis Carroll’s Through the Looking-Glass</i>	
Virginie Iché	207
<i>Clans and clashes: Heritage and authenticity in Alistair MacLeod’s No Great Mischief</i>	
André Dodeman	219
<i>Linguistic dissonance and the quest for a Caribbean voice in the poetry of Edward Kamau Brathwaite</i>	
Cyril Vettorato	233
<i>Shakespeare and literary Africa: Encounters by dissonance in Coetzee, Soyinka, Gordimer</i>	
Anna Maria Cimitile	245
Recensions	265
Abstracts	271